

STEED SEES U. S. LINE UP BEHIND HARDING

Believes Public Will Force Senate to Ratify Quadruple Agreement.

CHIDES CARPERS AGAIN

Submarine Question Will Be Settled, in London Editor's Opinion.

SHOWS FEAR FOR CHINA

Cites Need of Stable Government; Advises Sentimentalists to Work.

By WICKHAM STEED.
Editor of the London Times.
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WASHINGTON, Dec. 8.—Things are moving rapidly. Yesterday morning news of the attitude of Tokio was not expected before the end of the week, but toward the end of the day President Harding, in an address to the annual meeting of the American Red Cross, was able to say: "I know whereof I speak. We are going to succeed beyond our fondest hopes."

News that justified that downright statement had arrived early in the afternoon. Contrary to the general belief that acceptance of the 5-5-3 naval ratio, with a contingent arrangement in regard to Pacific bases, would precede Japanese sanction of the four-power agreement that is to supersede the Anglo-Japanese alliance, it now seems possible that the adoption of the agreement may be announced before the naval ratio formula is finally drafted.

Japanese adhesion to the naval ratio is certain, but some minor adjustments of contingent clauses in regard to the creation of new naval bases in the West Pacific may be necessary before the agreement can be published. Meanwhile acceptance may be called the quadruple pact. It is an accomplished fact, on which an official statement is probable as soon as French consent to it has been received.

Question to Go to Senate.

Though the precise form of this quadruple agreement is a closely guarded secret, there is strong reason to believe that the American Government has now decided that it will require ratification by the Senate, since, in effect, if not in form, it is equivalent to a treaty. Its ultimate validity must, therefore, depend

upon the attitude of the United States Senate.

Members of the Administration who are best qualified to express an opinion are understood to feel confident that the Senate will not refuse ratification. There may be considerable opposition in a section of the press and on the part of some hard "ingrowing" Senators, but thanks to the eminent reasonableness of the agreement, its freedom from naval or military clauses and the pressure of public opinion, this opposition may be successfully faced.

The confidence expressed by the President yesterday was undoubtedly inspired not only by the news from Japan but by the feeling that American public opinion as a whole will sustain the efforts of the Administration.

Feels Attitude of Americans.

A much larger degree of sceptical reserve than most observers of the proceedings of this conference possess would be needed to inspire serious doubt that the American people fail to support the action of the Executive. Hitherto the conference has brought confusion and discomfiture upon unbelievers. Attempts in various quarters to seek out and magnify possible subjects to discard have provided some of the most amusing episodes of the byplay that is an inevitable part of the surroundings of any international gathering.

Without possessing or seeking to possess secret information, I may hazard a guess that the submarine tonnage issue will be satisfactorily arranged. The ratio of the French and Italian navies will probably be found to be in the neighborhood of one and two-thirds of American and British capital ship strength. Any reasonable demands France may make will assuredly be considered in the friendliest spirit in all quarters, while the Italian demand for substantial equality with France is also likely to be entertained. On this score, therefore, sceptics may prepare to gnash their teeth.

On the Chinese question in general there will doubtless be alarms and excitements before the conference is over. The sentimentalists, who would fain sacrifice the realities of an agreement between the principal Pacific Powers to the uncompromising affirmation of an ideal at present beyond the range of practical politics, may be expected to lift up their voices in vain expostulation. But the fundamental truths of the situation will probably be too strong for them. Of these truths the chief is that before China can be redeemed, restored to a position in which she can protect herself against depredation, she must be enabled to develop a Government capable of speaking in her name.

This she cannot do without long and patient effort on the part of those who sincerely desire to save her from the sorry stewards who have in recent years combined personal unworthiness with the selfish expediency of extraneous notions. Not the least satisfactory outcome of the conference may well be an arrangement among the eight Powers which China may join as a ninth, for the promotion of conditions calculated to give to the Chinese people a chance of regaining their rightful place among the political assets of the world.

At present China is a political liability to all we wish her well, and her voiceless, sentimental friends might do worse than help her to cultivate a sense of reality.

CHARLES PIEZ GETS DIVORCE.

Judge Sabath Indictes He Will Grant Decree.

CHICAGO, Dec. 8.—Charles Piez, Director-General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation during the war, will be granted a decree of divorce from Mrs. Laura Olivia Flora Piez, Judge Joseph Sabath indicated to-night at the end of the hearing of Mr. Piez's plea, which was not contested.

POWERS TO RESPECT CHINA IN TREATIES

Continued from First Page.

East, including or specially mentioning China.

These all have one or more of the following three features:

"1. A declaration that the contracting parties have a special interest in having order and a pacific state of things maintained in the regions of China adjacent to the territories where the contracting Powers have rights of sovereignty, protection or occupation, and engage to support each other for assuring the peace and security in these regions; or

"2. A declaration to support the independence and integrity of China and the maintenance of the open door for foreign commerce and to aid each other for the defence of the contracting parties' special interests in said regions; or

"3. The recognition by one contracting Power to the effect, that since promulgation creates special relations, the other contracting Power has special interests in China.

It was clear that any one of the foregoing three features must be of vital interest to China. The assurance of peace and order in any part of China territory was a matter of great concern to China herself. The maintenance of the independence and territorial integrity of China touches the supreme rights of China. As to the recognition of promulgation as creating special interests in China, it was equally obvious that such recognition could not be valid, because special interests on Chinese territory could not be created without the consent of China, and China has always contested the soundness of the doctrine of promulgation."

Mr. Baifour, according to the official communiqué, said the whole tenor of the discussion on China's affairs proved the desire to remove as far as possible the abnormal conditions existing in China and to bring relations with China into that normal course of policy which regulates the relations between civilized States. So far as Great Britain was concerned, spheres of interest were a thing of the past. A better way of dealing with the matter was to make clear what had already been implicitly, if not explicitly, indicated, namely, to declare that no one wished to perpetuate either the system of spheres of interest or the international understandings on which they depended.

Mr. Baifour thought it was the hope of all those present to place China in a position to defend her interests, to protect her neutrality, and no longer to be the prey of acquisitive Powers. He did not think that this end was likely to be attained by adopting the broad principle proposed by the Chinese delegation, but rather by dealing with the difficulties which beset China one by one. He could not see that the position was helped by the principle proposed by the Chinese delegation, which went a good deal beyond any existing principle of international law. The term employed, namely, "The Pacific and Far East," was as broad as the Pacific itself.

He could not believe that the Powers represented at this table would accept it, more especially as China was not in possession of material forces to enable her to carry out any policy outside her own frontier. He asked if it had occurred to Mr. Koo that his principal involved a limitation of the treaty-making rights of Powers which could hardly be accepted. All agreed that treaties had been entered into not only in regard to China but also to other nations which reflected no credit on those who had concluded them. For this evil the great remedy was publicity. That was the real protection for China. The whole world would become the judge of her future treaties. He would therefore ask his

Chinese friends not to press the committee to adopt the resolution under discussion, but to deal with particular evils, as the conference was doing.

Mr. Hughes was sure that all understood the deep concern which had prompted the proposal of the Chinese delegation, and that there was general sympathy with China in her desire that there should be no engagement of any character interfering with the establishment of a sound, stable and efficient government in China; but note must be taken of actual conditions.

The committee had agreed in the second paragraph of the Root resolution, he said, to provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government. That was not only a pledge but, he believed, a recognition of the fundamental fact that China alone could develop and maintain an effective and stable government. But there must be progress; development in China in an age long process.

The chairman then observed that there might be treaties affecting China not adverse to China, but it could be said that there would be no secret engagements. More than that could be done, however; there could be recorded an expression of a desire to be helpful to China in the preservation of the legitimate field of her administrative autonomy and a reassertion in connection with paragraph No. 1 of the Root resolution of the determination to do nothing in derogation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial and administrative integrity of China.

Therefore, he continued, if there were embodied in the resolution relating to treaties principles underlying the Chinese proposal and an expression of the intention to do nothing in derogation of these principles and to make no treaties or engagements in derogation of the sovereignty and administrative integrity of China all that China desired would be attained without the committee being led into a discussion of the theoretical freedom of the treaty-making power. He suggested that the Chinese delegation advance some qualification of their proposal which would permit the matter to be discussed in that sense.

Mr. Hanhara said he only desired to make the point of view of the Japanese delegation clear. The Japanese delegation believed that the sovereignty relations had the right of concluding a treaty or agreement between themselves.

At the same time with the growing influence of public opinion and of international law it was daily becoming evident that should a treaty or agreement prove prejudicial to the peace of the world or violative of the rights of third Powers it was bound to fall by itself under strong pressure of popular condemnation if not an account of action taken against it by aggrieved parties, either through direct diplomatic representation or through the instrumentality of the League of Nations, of which China was a member. But an engagement by the Powers under the formula now proposed that China would operate as a serious limitation upon their sovereign right in the opinion of the Japanese delegation it was neither necessary nor desirable."

CHANGE VERSAILLES TREATY, SAYS BORAH

Must Rewrite Peace Pact or Europe Cannot Be Saved, He Declares.

POWERS SHOULD CONFERENCE

Senator, in Statement, Denounces Suggestion to Cancel Allied War Debt.

Special Despatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD.

New York Herald Bureau, Washington, D. C., Dec. 8.

Senator Borah issued a statement today in which he says that most of the woes of Europe, including the financial distress, are due to the operation of the Versailles treaty.

He proposed that the treaty be rewritten, and argues that unless such a course is adopted it would be a waste of time and money for the United States to try to save Europe, and that conditions there will go from bad to worse.

The Senator denounces in vigorous language the campaign to have the Allied debt to this nation cancelled, pointing out that such a course would not aid matters much unless present policies there are changed considerably. He is convinced that the policies of France and Great Britain now in operation will destroy Germany, and in doing so the whole of Europe will be destroyed.

He urges that Great Britain, Japan, France and Germany should hold a conference and rewrite the treaty of Versailles, so that Europe may live. He said in part:

"Next to disarmament, the most essential thing for the bringing on of peace and for the restoring of economic sanity is the modification of the Versailles treaty. Unless that can be done the United States will waste time and money in any effort to restore conditions to normalcy in Europe. Europe will go on from bad to worse, as it has been doing since the armistice, and thousands will die and wars will continue. Everybody seems to know this, every economist in Europe declares it and almost every one who visits Europe and returns to the United States admits it.

"Just now propaganda is particularly directed to the proposition of cancelling the foreign debt, but of what advantage will it be to Europe to cancel the foreign debt under the present policies of Europe? If the policies of France and Great Britain are to continue and Germany is to be destroyed, Balkanized and dismembered, the mere cancellation

of the debt will avail nothing. It would be like trying to start a summer garden on the lava slopes of Vesuvius. There is no doubt that the bankruptcy of Germany is now imminent and the consequence of it would be impossible to describe or foretell.

"Some people seem of the opinion that you can destroy Germany without destroying Europe. But you cannot eliminate the most powerful economic unit of the continent without destroying the continent.

"The first step toward order is to conform the Versailles treaty to the economic life which has been built up through 300 years of effort throughout the entire continent. The next step ought to be a conference among Great Britain, Japan, France and Germany to rewrite this treaty so that Europe can live."

ADVISES ABANDONMENT OF CHEMICAL WARFARE

Report by Pershing Said to Disagree With Other Views.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8 (Associated Press).—Complete abandonment of all forms of chemical warfare is understood to have been recommended to the American Arms Conference delegation by its official advisory committee.


The advisory committee report was drawn up by Gen. Pershing and there is some intimation that it does not reflect views of all other high army officials.

In general, army officers are inclined to believe that poison gas or any other form of chemical warfare should be treated as any other military weapon should be treated.

American army policy under President Wilson proscribed gas warfare after the armistice was signed. It was formally stated that the American army would not develop gas for offensive use, but would confine itself to a thorough study of chemical warfare in preparation for adequate defence against any enemy who might resort to its use.

The general theory of this policy, it has been understood, was that it was impossible to confine gas attack to purely military zones of operations; that the fumes were driven by the wind from the battle front over great distances at times and found civilians victims in towns far back from the fighting line.

The army itself can be protected with masks and other devices, but civil populations have and will have neither the protective equipment, nor the necessary training in its use, officers have felt.



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